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SUBJECT: ALEKSANDROV ARTICLE DEFENDS "SOCIALIST FREEDOMS"

1. SUMMARY. AUTHORITATIVE ALEKSANDROV ARTICLE IN FEBRUARY 20 PRAVDA DEFENDS SOCIALIST CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS AND REBUTS CHARGES THAT USSR EMPLOYS REPRESSIVE TACTICS AGAINST DISSIDENTS, JEWS, AND RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS. THOUGH THE AUTHOR IS ARTICULATE AND SKILLFUL IN PRESENTING HIS ARGUMENTS, THE POINT-BY-POINT AIRING OF CHARGES, COMPELLING NEED TO REAFFIRM THE FREEDOMS GUARANTEED BY SOVIET CONSTITUTION, AND INSISTENCE THAT SOCIALIST SOCIETY MUST PROTECT ITSELF FROM OUTSIDE ENEMIES PLACES HIM IN DIFFICULT POSITION OF ARGUING HIS WAY OUT OF A CLOSED CIRCLE. HE IS BOTH DEFENSIVE, AND, ON THE WHOLE, REASSURING TO HIS READERS IN DESCRIBING THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S PROGRESSIVELY MORE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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HUMANE ATTITUDE TOWARD DISSIDENTS AND IN GIVING THE CPSU CREDIT FOR ENDING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE "CULT OF

PERSONALITY." END SUMMARY.

2. AN ARTICLE BY A. ALEKSANDROV "CONCERNING REAL AND IMAGINARY FREEDOMS" IN FEBRUARY 20 PRAVDA PROVIDES A DETAILED, ARTICULATE, AND AUTHORITATIVE DEFENSE OF SOCIALIST FREEDOMS AND REBUTTAL OF CHARGES THAT THE USSR EMPLOYS REPRESSIVE TACTICS AGAINST DISSIDENTS, JEWS, AND RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS. THE ARTICLE MAY WELL BE A SANITIZED VARIATION OF LETTER THE CPSU REPORTEDLY SENT TO OTHER CP'S ON THIS SUBJECT.

3. HOWEVER ELOQUENT HIS DEFENSE, ALEKSANDROV IS OBLIGED TO BALANCE THE CONFLICTING REQUIREMENTS OF AIRING AND REBUTTING THE CHARGES, REAFFIRMING THE REALITY OF PERSONAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS GUARANTEED BY THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION, AND INSISTING ON THE RIGHT OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY TO PROTECT ITSELF FROM ITS ENEMIES. AT TIMES HE PROTESTS TOO MUCH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE FURTHER PERFECTION AND EXPANSION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

4. ALEKSANDROV BEGINS BY COMPARING AND CONTRASTING "SOCIALIST" AND "BOURGEOIS" CONCEPTS OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS. HE THEN DESCRIBES (PERJORATIVELY) THE PERSONNEL, TACTICS, AND "FALSEHOODS" EMPLOYED BY THE WESTERN "PROPAGANDA MACHINE," INCLUDING RADIO LIBERTY. IN FINAL SECTION HE EXAMINES AND REBUTS THE CHARGES IN DETAIL, CONCLUDING WITH A RINGING AFFIRMATION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER CSCE AND ALSO ITS RIGHT TO PROTECT SOCIALISM AGAINST ALL ENEMIES, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

5. SOCIALIST FREEDOMS DEFINED AND DEFENDED: ON THE ONE HAND, ALEKSANDROV DESCRIBES SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN CONVENTIONAL TERMS OF ITS ECONOMIC BENEFITS AND SOCIAL SERVICES, AND DEFINES THE PRESENT STAGE OF SOCIALISM AS ONE WHERE "DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT GREW INTO A STATE OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE." SOVIET ELECTIONS, TRADE UNIONS, ORGANS OF PEOPLES' CONTROL, SPECIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE INTELLIGENTSIA, AND SOVIET PRESS EXPANDED SOCIALIST FREEDOMS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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BY ALLOWING THE INVOLVEMENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND IN EXPRESSING THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

6. BUT IT IS IN HIS REFERENCES TO THE STATUS OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE EVOLUTION OF SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD IDEOLOGICAL OPPONENTS THAT ALEKSANDROV SOUNDS DEFENSIVE, AND, ULTIMATELY, REASSURING TO HIS SOVIET READERS. HE CONCEDES THAT "THE QUESTION OF THE FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS OF THE WORKING MAN IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS ONE THAT INTERESTS TENS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE." THESE RIGHTS, ACCORDING TO ALEKSANDROV, WERE INITIALLY

LIMITED BY THE FIRST SOCIALIST STATE'S NEED TO RESORT TO REPRESSION IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH ITS AUTHORITY AND TO SURVIVE. AS THE SOVIET UNION BECAME STRONG AND STABLE, SOCIALIST FREEDOMS EXPANDED AND SOVIET LAW BECAME PROGRESSIVELY MORE HUMANE TOWARD IDEOLOGICAL OPPONENTS. IN DISCUSSING THIS TREAD, ALEKSANDROV MADE OBLIQUE REFERENCE, ON THE EVE OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS, TO THE FACT THAT IT WAS ALSO THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 20TH CONGRESS WHERE KHRUSHCHEV DENOUNCED STALIN. (IN FACT, WE THINK IT NO COINCIDENCE THAT ARTICLE APPEARED ON TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF KHRUSHCHEV'S SECRET SPEECH.) ALEKSANDROV OBSERVES, IN LANGUAGE RARELY USED IN CONTEMPORARY SOVIET NEWSPAPER OR JOURNAL ARTICLES: "THIS PROCESS WAS FACILITATED BY THE NEW POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY RESULTING FROM OVERCOMING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PERSONALITY CULT. HAVING TAKEN THE MOST DECISIVE STEPS, THE CPSU ELIMINATED THE PREVALENT VIOLATIONS OF LEGALITY."

7. WESTERN PROPAGANDA MACHINE ADESCRIBED: ALEKSANDROV CONTENTS THAT SINCE OUTSIDE CRITICS CANNOT FACE UP TO THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALIST FREEDOMS, THEY RESORT TO THE TACTIC OF DEFINING INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS AS THE FREEDOM TO INJURE SOCIALISM. WESTERN PROPAGANDISTS IN THE RECENT PERIOD HAVE BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN SEEKING TO UNDERMINE THE POLICY OF RELAXATION OF TENSIONS. THEY EMPLOY PAID PROFESSIONAL ANTI-COMMUNISTS; THEY SUCCEED OCCASIONALLY IN "CATCHING" THOSE WHO ARE GULLIBLE AND NAIVE; AND THEY USE DISSIDENTS AS THEIR AGENTS, BOTH IN THE USSR AND WHEN THE DISSIDENTS EMIGRATE. SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED ARE RADIO LIBERTY AND POSEV (AN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EMIGRE JOURNAL PUBLISHED IN FRANKFURT), THOUGH NOT VOA.

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8. HE CHARGES THAT DISSIDENTS ARE HOUNDED AND REPRESSED: ALEKSANDROV ACKNOWLEDGES THE EXISTENCE OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE USSR WHO OPPOSE COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY. THEY OFTEN WIND UP IN SOVIET COURTS, NOT FOR THEIR CONVICTIONS BUT FOR VIOLATIONS OF SOVIET LAW. SOME WERE PROVED TO BE PAID AGENTS OF FOREIGN ANTI-SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS. SOME, LIKE SOLZHENITSYN, GALICH, KORZHAVIN, SHARIYA, AND SHTEYN, REVEALED THEMSELVES FULLY AS ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM BY THEIR ACTIVITIES AFTER EMIGRATION. SOME WERE FASCIST HIRELINGS DURING WORLD WAR II (SPECIFICALLY CITED HERE ARE DUBENKO AND M. OSTROVSKIY). HE BRANDS AS FALSE THE CHARGE THAT DISSIDENTS ARE IMPRISONED IN PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS, AND DESCRIBES LEGAL PROCEDURES AND SAFEGUARDS USED IN INVOLUNTARY CONFINEMENT OF THE MENTALLY ILL. AT THE SAME TIME, ALEKSANDROV NOTES THAT THOSE WHO ARE MENTALLY ILL CAN ALSO BE DISSIDENT, CITING IN THIS CONNECTION

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THE CASES OF TARSIS AND PLYUSHCH AS EXAMPLES OF DISSIDENTS WHO EMIGRATED AND WERE RECOGNIZED ABROAD AS UNBALANCED.

9. RELIGION: ALEKSANDROV CITES THE GUARANTEES OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION AND PATRIARCH PIMEN'S PUBLIC STATEMENT IN DECEMBER 1975 AFFIRMING THE REALITY OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE SOVIET UNION. ALEKSANDROV ALSO CITES STATISTICAL DATA (5,500 MARRIAGES "DURING RECENT YEARS") TO DISPROVE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DISCOURAGES MARRIAGES BETWEEN SOVIET CITIZENS AND

FOREIGNERS, AND THAT IT INTERFERES WITH THE EMIGRATION OF THOSE WHO MARRY FOREIGNERS OR OF JEWS WHO WISH TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR FAMILIES IN ISRAEL. IN HIS VIEW, THE THREE-FOLD REDUCTION OF EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL DURING THE 1973-75 PERIOD ONLY PROVES THAT:

-- THE NUMBER OF JEWS DESIRING TO EMIGRATE IS GETTING SMALLER;

-- THE OVERWHELMING NUMBER OF JEWS IN THE USSR ARE LOYAL TO SOCIALISM;

-- THOSE WHO LEFT THE USSR HAVE BITTERLY REGRETTED THEIR DECISION; SOME LEAVE ISRAEL TO GO ELSEWHERE, WHILE OTHERS SEEK TO RETURN TO THE USSR.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DOES REJECT A SMALL NUMBER OF CASES FOR REASONS OF NATIONAL SECURITY; IN THE PERIOD 1970-75, 98.4 PERCENT OF THE APPLICANTS WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE AND ONLY 1.6 PERCENT WERE TURNED DOWN.

10. IN SUM, ALEKSANDROV AFFIRMS THE USSR'S SCRUPULOUS OBSERVANCE OF ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE CSCE AGREEMENT. HE DEFENDS THE RIGHT OF THE USSR TO PROTECT ITS SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND REAFFIRMS THE DESIRE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO PERFECT AND EXPAND THE FREEDOMS INHERENT IN SOCIALISM.

11. COMMENT: THE PUBLICATION OF A COMMENTARY SUCH AS THIS IN THE WAKE OF MARCHAIS' REBUKE TO THE CPSU FOR ITS RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AND ON THE EVEN OF THE 25TH CONGRESS WHEN MOSCOW IS PLAYING HOST TO FOREIGN CP DELEGATIONS, IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRESSIVE TESTIMONY TO THE SENSITIVITY OF THIS ISSUE BOTH WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND WITHIN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. IN A LARGER SENSE, IT DEMONSTRATES THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRESSURES GENERATED ON THE USSR BY WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS. FINALLY, IT INDICATES HOW CAREFULLY THE SOVIETS MUST CONSIDER THE EFFECT OF THEIR INTERNAL ACTIONS ON THEIR FOREIGN INTERESTS, AND THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS THEY WOULD FACE IF THEY SHOULD CHOOSE AT SOME FUTURE TIME TO REVERT TO A POLICY OF OLD-TIME REPRESSION AND TERROR. STOESEL

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